

SEP 25 1953

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Honorable C. D. Jackson *Handwritten signature*  
 Special Assistant to the President  
 The White House  
 Washington, D. C.

SUBJECT: Russian Satellite Minorities

REFERENCE: Memorandum from Mr. Jackson to the members  
 of the PSE, dated 1 September 1953.

1. We agree with your suggestion that a thorough review of our present policy toward the Soviet nationalities should be made. It appears that most of the decisions reached affecting the development of psychological warfare against the USSR may not have given the most appropriate emphasis to the exploitation of the non-Russian ethnic groups within the Soviet Union. As I understand the matter, the old State Department policy has rested in large part upon the contention that a showing of interest, on our part, in the non-Russian peoples will arouse the antagonism of the Great Russians, who would interpret our actions as designed to dismember the Soviet Union, and could, for that reason, be turned against us propagandistically as well as exploited within Russia as a strong appeal for internal unity and support of the Kremlin regime. Within the framework of this approach a policy of non-predetermination or ultimate self-determination has been adopted and adhered to by all covert asset facilities under our control. Since Beria's liquidation, and in view of the latest developments in the Soviet Union, however, we feel that re-evaluation of our present position is desirable. The purpose of such a review should be not to abandon the policy of non-predetermination, but rather to extend its application to permit fuller exploitation of the vulnerabilities inherent in the Soviet system.

2. In this connection, it is my understanding that as a result of the proposed merger of the two PSH documents, i.e. D-40 and D-45, the Soviet nationalities issue will be once more reviewed by the new OCB working group. Their findings and recommendations will then be

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submitted either through the Department of State or Mr. George Morgan, to the NSC Planning Board. We can, therefore, expect that the final document will be presented to the NSC, and after its approval it will serve as policy authorization for implementation of activities in connection with this important issue.

3. I have one further observation to make in this connection, even though I appreciate that it is at the risk of going into certain details with which I believe you are quite familiar. The old policy upon which we have been basing our actions and certain of our more important operations, has never, to the best of my knowledge, achieved formal "governmental status". By this I mean that the policy has never been threshed out at the higher policy levels of Government or gone into with sufficient thoroughness, and certainly I do not think it has been gone into by the present Administration to the depth that I consider warranted by a matter of such importance. I know that you are well acquainted with the various sharply-conflicting points of view which make this such a controversial issue both within the ranks of the Soviet emigration and also in American public opinion (including congressional opinion). One of the unfortunate results of this controversy is that in the present atmosphere and in the absence of a sufficiently authoritative policy determination, the governmental officials charged with responsibility for the execution of the policy are subject to criticism and attack to a degree which is unnecessary, and which would, in my judgment, be minimized if we had a sufficiently clear and high-level determination of policy.

SR/CPP, [ ] 15 Sept/53

SIGNED

Rewritten: DD/P, [ ] 16 Sept/53

Orig. and 1 - addressee

ALLEN W. DEAN  
Director

DCI files - 2 ✓

DD/P files - 2

cc: Under Secretary of Defense - 1  
 Under Secretary of State - 1  
 Director, FCA - 1  
 General Cutler - 1  
 Mr. George Morgan - 1

C/SR - 1

SR/CPP - 1

RI/FI - 1

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## ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

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FROM:

SR/CPP

NO.

DATE

15 September 1953

TO	ROOM NO.	DATE		OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
		REC'D	FWD'D		
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2. <i>col</i>					
3. DD/P					
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*Handwritten notes in comments column:*

③ to ⑤  
Mr Duller - *memor.*  
The attached letter which has been prepared for your signature is in response to a memorandum addressed to you and the other members of the OCS (PJB) by C.D. Jackson.  
It has occurred to me that you may wish to furnish copies of your reply memo to the other Board members, most of whom are believed to be quite unfamiliar with this issue. Copies are attached.

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